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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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ACTION RP-10

INFO OCT-01 AOS-00 AID-07 INR-10 EYR-12 OIC-02 CIAE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE DARHDC PRIORITY 4800
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KADUL
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMCONSUL KARACHI
AMCONSUL LAHORE POUCH
AMCONSUL PESHAWAR POUCH

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 04 ISLAMABAD 05275

ROME FORK000AG

E.O. 12065: ROS-1 04/22/91 (KING, D.) OR-N
TAGS: SREF, UNHCR, PORO, PBOV, ZAIO, PK, AF
SUBJECT: (U) AFGHAN REFUGEE SITUATION IN PAKISTAN'S
NORTHWEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

REF: (A) ISLAMABAD 4971 (NOTAL) (B) ISLAMABAD 5060
(C) ISLAMABAD 5634 (D) PESHAWAR 00342

1. (C) - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: GOP AND THE UNHCR-LED INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE RELIEF EFFORT IN NWFP APPEARS TO BE COPING WITH MASSIVE AND GROWING REFUGEE PROBLEM IN THE NWFP. GOP, UNHCR, WFP, AND VOLAGS ARE ENGAGED IN AN ALL-OUT EFFORT TO DEAL WITH THE CONTINUING INFLUX OF AFGHAN REFUGEES BUT SHIP-
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PING DELAYS, LACK OF POTABLE WATER, RELIEF GOOD SHORTAGES.

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TRANSCRIPTION - ORIGINAL FOLLOWS

BUREAUCRATIC WRANGLING AND INEFFICIENCY, SOVIET TACTICS IN AFGHANISTAN, AND THE WEATHER HAVE BEGUN TO PUT SEVERE STRAIN UPON THE RELIEF PROGRAM.

3. INCREASINGLY, CONCERN OF MANY REFUGEES SEEMS TO BE MORE CENTERED ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF RELIEF COMMODITIES, I.E., TENTS, WHEAT, CASH ALLOWANCES, THAN WITH TRADITIONAL PURSUIT OF TRIBAL POLITICS AND WAGING OF "JIHAD" AGAINST THE SOVIETS. POSSIBILITY OF AN EPIDEMIC CAUSING NUMBERS OF DEATHS AMONG THE REFUGEES, ESPECIALLY THE ELDERLY AND CHILDREN, AND OVERWHELMING PRESENT MEDICAL CARE SYSTEM IS REAL. GIVEN THE TRIBAL NATURE OF AFGHAN SOCIETY, AND STRICT CODE OF HONOR PREVALENT AMONG PATHWAYS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE DURAND LINE, THE REFUGEES HAVE AS YET NOT PROVED A SERIOUS LAW-AND-ORDER PROBLEM FOR PAKISTANI AUTHORITIES, BUT THE POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE BETWEEN THOUSANDS OF GUN-WEILDING AND FREELY-ROAMING REFUGEES AND THEIR PAKISTANI HOSTS APPEARS TO BE SLOWLY MOUNTING.

[LINE EXCISED]

[WORDS EXCISED]

IF THE REFUGEE POPULATION CONTINUES TO RISE AT THE CURRENT RATE, THE GOP WILL AT SOME POINT FACE A HOBSON'S CHOICE OF SETTLING OF AFGHAN REFUGEES EAST OF THE INDUS OR MOVING TOWARD AN UNPALATABLE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT ON AFGHANISTAN BY REDUCING THE VIGOR AND THE VISIBILITY OF PAKISTANI OPPOSITION TO WHAT THE SOVIETS HAVE DONE AND ARE DOING ACROSS THE DURAND LINE. END SUMMARY.

4. INTRODUCTION: THIS REPORT REFLECTS 1,000 MILE-TOUR BY EMBASSY REFUGEE AFFAIRS OFFICER AND PESHAWAR CONOFF OF REFUGEE VILLAGES IN PAKISTAN'S NORTHWEST FRONTIER PROVINCE (NWFP), APRIL 5-9 AND FOLLOW-ON VISIT BY CODEL PRITCHARD, APRIL 16-19 WHICH INCLUDED VISITS TO PESHAWAR AND KOHAT DISTRICT REFUGEE CAMPS AND BRIEFINGS ON REFUGEE PROBLEM AND SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN (REFTEL) BY SENIOR OFFICIALS OF GOP.

5. HOW MANY REFUGEES? RECENTLY RELEASED GOP FIGURES SHOW THAT AS OF 31 MARCH OF THE NEARLY 1.5 MILLION OF THE 1.8 MILLION REGISTERED REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN ARE IN THE NWFP. THIS COUNT IS SHARPLY HIGHER THAN FEBRUARY TOTAL OF 1.3 MILLION IN THE NWFP. UNFORTUNATELY, IN NWFP AS

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VINCE (NWFP), APRIL 8-9 AND FOLLOW-ON VISIT BY CODEL PRITCHARD, APRIL 16-19 WHICH INCLUDED VISITS TO PESHAWAR AND KOWAT DISTRICT REFUGEE CAMPS AND BRIEFINGS ON REFUGEE PROBLEM AND SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN (REFTEL) BY SENIOR OFFICIALS OF GOP.

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ELSEWHERE, THE RELIABILITY OF DATA ON REGISTERED REFUGEES IS OPEN TO SOME DOUBT. CAMPS IN PESHAWAR DISTRICT [WORD ILLEG], AND THE [WORD ILLEG] AGENCIES HAVE, FOR EXAMPLE, CEASED REGISTERING AFGHANS AS OF LAST DECEMBER IN A BID TO ENCOURAGE REFUGEES TO MOVE ONTO LESS CONGESTED AREAS FURTHER AWAY FROM THE POLITICALLY-SENSITIVE BORDER REGIONS. OTHER CAMPS HAVE STOPPED REGISTERING REFUGEES FOR A LACK OF SUPPLIES, ESPECIALLY TENTS.

6. GOP OFFICIALS OPENLY ADMIT PROBLEMS WITH DOUBLE REGISTRATION AND EXAGGERATED CLAIMS OF FAMILY SIZE. ADHERENCE BY THE AFGHANS TO [WORD ILLEG] (SECLUSION OF WOMEN) MAKES VERIFICATION OF REFUGEES CLAIMS VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE. REFUGEES ARE QUICK TO REPORT BIRTHS, WHICH INCREASE THE AUTHORIZED ALLOTMENT OF RELIEF COMMODITIES, AND CORRESPONDINGLY SLOW TO REPORT DEATHS. TO COMPOUND THE PROBLEMS, NOMINALLY PAKISTANI [ILLEG] PERMANENTLY SETTLED IN THE NWFP SOMETIMES SEEK TO OBTAIN ACCESS TO RELIEF SUPPLIES, AND THE RS. TO PER MONTH MAINTENANCE ALLOWANCE BY REGISTERING AS REFUGEES. UNWILLINGNESS AND INABILITY OF THE GOP TO CONFINED THE REFUGEES TO WELL-DEFINED CAMPS MAKES REGISTRATION PROBLEM FACED BY CAMP ADMINISTRATORS EVEN MORE DIFFICULT. SEASONAL MIGRATION IS CURRENTLY UNDERWAY.

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REGISTERING REFUGEES AS OF LAST DECEMBER IN A BID TO
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TRANSCRIPTION - ORIGINAL FOLLOWS

AND TENS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES FROM HOT WEATHER AREAS SUCH AS [WORD ILLEG] ARE MOVING TO COOLER REGIONS IN THE [WORD ILLEG] AND QUETTA. TRADITIONALLY DRESSED IN HEAVY CLOTHING, AFGHAN WOMEN AND MANY OF THE CHILDREN WOULD SIMPLY NOT SURVIVE THE SEARING SUMMER HEAT IN THE SEMI-DESSERT DISTRICTS OF THE [WORD ILLEG]. GOP OFFICIALS CLAIM TO HAVE WAYS OF PREVENTING DOUBLE REGISTRATION BY MIGRATING REFUGEES. BUT GIVEN THE MAGNITUDE OF THE MIGRATION AND LIMITED GOP HUMAN RESOURCES. THIS CLAIM LACKS CREDIBILITY.

ONE RELIEF OFFICIAL ASSERTED THAT A LARGE PERCENTAGE OF THE MARCH INCREASE IN REGISTRATION FIGURES WAS DUE TO LACKSADAISICAL ADMINISTRATION AND INEFFICIENCY WHICH PREVENTED REFUGEE DATA FROM REACHING THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES [WORD ILLEG] MARCH. PART OF THE MARCH INCREASE, PLACED AT BETWEEN 30-40 PERCENT BY THE GOP OFFICIAL, WAS ATTRI-

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 FM WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE
 TO DIRECTOR BUREAU PRIORITY (50)
 INFO MEMPHIS BUREAU
 MEMPHIS JAMES
 MEMPHIS LAMAR
 MEMPHIS ROBERT
 MEMPHIS NEW ORLEANS
 MEMPHIS LAMAR
 MEMPHIS LAMAR PUNCH
 MEMPHIS LAMAR PUNCH

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DATE: 12-10-63

AND 745-JF-THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES FROM HOT WEATHER AREAS
JULY 23 J. I. SHAW ARE MOVING TO COOLER REGIONS IN THE
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THE RELIEF OFFICIAL
THE RELIEF OFFICIAL

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IN THE MARCH INCREASE, PLACED AT
BY THE JAPANESE OFFICIAL, WAS ABOUT

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TRANSCRIPTION - ORIGINAL FOLLOWS

BUTED TO THE ARRIVAL OF NEW REFUGEES ENTERING PAKISTAN AS A RESULT OF RENEWED FIGHTING IN AFGHANISTAN. THE REMAINDER SEEMINGLY REPRESENTED A BELATED GOP EFFORT TO ACCOUNT FOR THE BURGEONING REFUGEE POPULATION IN A BUREAUCRATICALLY MORE MEANINGFUL MANNER. UNHCR OFFICIALS HAVE CONSISTENTLY CLAIMED THAT OVER REGISTRATION AND UNDER REGISTRATION BALANCE OUT, BUT THIS PREMISE IS NOW BEING CALLED INTO QUESTION. BOTTOM LINE IS THAT NOBODY KNOWS. AND PAKISTANI REFUGEE PROGRAM OFFICIALS HARD PRESSED TO MAKE ENDS MEET SEE RAPIDLY INCREASING NUMBERS AS MEANS OF STAKING OUT LARGER CLAIM TO RESOURCES OF UNHCR AND BOLSTERING CASE FOR REFUGEE ASSISTANCE WITH DONOR NATIONS.

8. GOP REORGANIZATION EFFORT: THE GOP'S ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION OF THE RELIEF EFFORT, STILL UNDERWAY, HAS GENERALLY BROUGHT ABOUT IMPROVEMENT. CODEL AND ENBOFFS WERE IMPRESSED BY THE HIGH QUALITY AND DEDICATION OF MANY UPPER-LEVEL OFFICIALS IN THE GOP REFUGEE RELIEF PROGRAM. THE REORGANIZATION PROGRAM HAS BEEN HINDERED BY A LACK OF RESOURCES AND, IN PARTICULAR, CASH AND VEHICLES, AS WELL AS UNWILLINGNESS OF BUSINESSMEN AND SOME PUBLIC AGENCIES TO EXTEND CREDIT TO THE COMMISSIONER FOR AFGHAN REFUGEES AND A SHORTAGE OF QUALIFIED LOWER-LEVEL ADMINISTRATORS WILLING TO WORK LONG HOURS UNDER SPARTAN CONDITIONS FOR LOW WAGES. SOME 50-60 PERCENT OF NEW POSITIONS IN REFUGEE ADMINISTRATION HAVE BEEN FILLED SO FAR, BUT THE QUALITY OF NEWLY RECRUITED PERSONNEL IS VERY UNEVEN. THUS THE GOP HAS BEEN FORCED TO RELY IN SOME CAMPS UPON TRIBAL AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF RELIEF SUPPLIES AND ALLOWANCES. THIS RESULTS IN DIVERSION OF SOME COMMODITIES AND FUNDS FOR PERSONAL USE, SALE OF REFUGEE GOODS TO LOCAL BAZAARS AND ACROSS THE BORDER SHIPMENTS TO THE ANTI-SOVIET FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN AFGHANISTAN.

9. RELIEF COMMODITIES: OVERALL THE RELIEF EFFORT HAS DONE A CREDITABLE JOB IN PROVIDING ALMOST ALL OF THE NEEDY REFUGEES WITH BASIC COMMODITIES--A DEGREE OF MALNUTRITION EXISTS IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS AS IT DOES IN AFGHANISTAN AND IN MANY PARTS OF PAKISTAN--BUT CASES OF STARVATION WERE NOT SEEN NOR

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RESULTS IN DIVERSION OF SOME COMMODITIES AND FUNDS FOR PERSONAL USE, SALE OF REFUGEE GOODS TO LOCAL BAZAARS AND ACROSS THE BORDER SHIPMENTS TO THE ANTI-SOVIET FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN AFGHANISTAN.

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HAVE THEY BEEN REPORTED. IN MOST CAMPS, THE REFUGEES DO NOT GIVE THE IMPRESSION OF BEING SUBSTANTIALLY WORSE OFF THAN RURAL PAKISTANIS. SHORTAGES OF RELIEF SUPPLIES DO EXIST--TENTS, FIREWOOD, AND, INCREASINGLY, WHEAT. IN SOME OF THE VISITED CAMPS, REFUGEES SLEEP 15-20 PERSONS IN ONE TENT, FASHION CRUDE SHELTERS OUT OF CLM AND PLASTIC SCRAPS, OR SPEND THE NIGHT IN THE OPEN. THE PRICE OF FIREWOOD HAS SKYROCKETED AND SOME CAMP ADMINISTRATORS HAVE RESORTED TO USING THE CASH ALLOWANCE TO COVER THIS INCREASED EXPENSE. REFUGEES HAVE CUT DOWN LARGE NUMBERS OF TREES TO SUPPLEMENT THEIR FIREWOOD SUPPLY AND IN THE PROCESS HAVE CAUSED LONG-TERM DAMAGE TO THE HUPJIS ENVIRONMENT.

10. THE PLIGHT OF UNREGISTERED REFUGEES IN THE RURAL AREAS IS REPORTEDLY PARTICULARLY ACUTE, BUT WE DO NOT HAVE MUCH RELIABLE INFORMATION ABOUT THIS SEGMENT OF THE AFGHANS REFUGEE POPULATION. OGP OFFICIALS REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE EFFECTIVENESS OF UFP'S OPERATION IN PAKISTAN AND SOME OF THESE COMPLAINTS SEEM JUSTIFIED. LONG DELAYS IN WHEAT SHIPMENTS, TO NO SMALL DEGREE THE RESULT OF DONOR COMPLACENCY, HAVE FORCED THE

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AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMCONSUL KARACHI
AMCONSUL LAHORE POUCH
AMCONSUL PESHAWAR POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 ISLAMABAD 05275

ROME FOR FODAB

GOP TO DRAW GRAIN SUPPLIES FROM NATIONAL STOCKS. REFUGEE
WHEAT CONSUMPTION IS RUNNING WELL-AHEAD OF THE UFP
REPLENISHMENT EFFORT AND THE GAP WIDENING. THE NUFF
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT HAS CEASED PROVIDING RELIEF ADMINI-
STRATION WITH WHEAT FROM ITS RESERVES ON LOAN, AND THE
STATES AND FRONTIER REGIONS MINISTRY (SAPRON) IS NOW
COMPELLED TO PAY CASH FOR GRAIN. A 9000 PERCENTAGE OF
THE UFP-SUPPLIED EDIBLE OIL AND OTHER RELIEF GOODS IS
LOST DUE TO MISHANDLING AND A SCARCITY OF HEAVY TRUCKS AND
RAILWAY CAPACITY, COMBINED WITH POOR ROADS IN MANY AREAS,
CREATES DELAYS IN FOOD DISTRIBUTION TO SCATTERED AND
REMOTE CAMP AREAS. FORTUNATELY, THE FOREBEARANCE OF
THE REFUGEES IS HIGH; AND PATHAN DEDICATION TO THE
TRADITIONS OF HOSPITALITY AND CHARITY TO NO LITTLE DEGREE
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HELPS FILL THE GAP.

11. HEALTH: THE REORGANIZATION PLAN CALLS FOR ONE
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DOCTOR WITH AIDES FOR EVERY FIVE THOUSAND REFUGEES. THIS AMBITIOUS TARGET HAS YET TO BE ACHIEVED, BUT FORTY MOBILE MEDICAL UNITS IN CONJUNCTION WITH PAKISTANI HOSPITALS PROVIDE MEDICAL CARE. RELIEF DOCTORS REPORTED GENERALLY SUFFICIENT DRUG SUPPLIES. EYE AND RESPIRATORY DISEASES, MALARIA, AND ASSORTED SKIN AND GASTROINTESTINAL DISORDERS ARE COMMON AMONG THE REFUGEE POPULATION. THE INCIDENCE OF MALNUTRITION AMONG SMALL CHILDREN, WHILE NOWHERE AT SOUTHEAST ASIAN OR AFRICAN HORNS, IS RISING, AND THE FAR-FLUNG NATURE OF MANY CAMPS ACTS TO DISCOURAGE SITE REFUGEES, ESPECIALLY WOMEN, FROM SEEKING CARE. (ON THE OTHER HAND, MOST COME FROM AREAS OF AFGHANISTAN WHERE THERE ARE NO HEALTH FACILITIES). PROVIDING AN ADEQUATE SUPPLY OF POTABLE WATER, NEVER AN EASY TASK IN THE BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE NWFP, IS SHAPING UP AS A MAJOR PROBLEM. NUMEROUS WELLS HAVE BEEN SUNK, BUT OFFICIALS WORRY ABOUT THE RAPIDLY DECLINING WATER TABLE IN MANY PARTS OF THE PROVINCE. THE AFGHANS ARE KNOWN FOR THEIR TOUGHNESS, BUT ACCORDING TO ONE DISTRICT ADMINISTRATOR, THE NEW ARRIVALS FROM AFGHANISTAN ARE "HERE SWELLS," REFLECTING THE DETERIORATING CIRCUMSTANCES IN AFGHANISTAN AND THE EFFECTS OF SOVIET STARVATION TACTICS. ADMNISTRATORS ARE FEARFUL OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF AN EPIDEMIC AMONG THESE WEAKENED PEOPLE.

12. LAW-AND-ORDER: THE AFGHAN REFUGEES HAVE SO FAR NOT PROVEN A MAJOR LAW-AND-ORDER PROBLEM TO PAKISTANI AUTHORITIES. LARGE NUMBERS OF REFUGEES OPENLY CARRY WEAPONS AND FREELY ROAM THE COUNTRYSIDE, BUT THERE HAVE BEEN FEW INCIDENTS BETWEEN THE LOCAL POPULACE AND REFUGEES.

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POTENTIAL EXISTS FOR A MAJOR SECURITY PROBLEM PARTICULARLY IF CONDITIONS IN THE CAMPS DETERIORATE OR IF THE NUMBERS OF REFUGEE INCREASE BEYOND THE AS YET UNDETERMINED THRESHOLD OF NWFP HOSPITALITY. WE ARE NOT NOW AT THE BRINK BUT NO ONE QUESTIONS THAT THERE IS A BREAKING POINT AND THIS CONSIDERATION APPEARS OVER TIME TO LOOM LARGER AND LARGER IN THE MINDS OF CONCERNED PAKISTANI OFFICIALS.

13. WHERE ARE WE GOING? THE CRITICAL QUESTION CONFRONTING NWFP ADMINISTRATION AND GOP OFFICIALS IN ISLAMABAD IS THE ULTIMATE SIZE OF THE REFUGEE FLOW

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INTO PAKISTAN AND THE PROBABLY DURATION OF REFUGEES STAY. SENIOR WPA OFFICIAL (RETEL) PRESENTED COOL WITH "HORSE CASE" SCENARIO OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN AFGHANISTAN WHICH INCLUDED PROJECTION OF OVER 3 MILLION REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN BY END OF 1981 IF SOVIETS ADOPT "ULTIMATE SOLUTION"-TYPE TACTICS IN AFGHANISTAN. NEITHER THE NWFP NOR BALUCHISTAN, TO WHICH THE REFUGEES WOULD FLEE, COULD SUSTAIN SUCH A BURDEN WITHOUT A SHARP INCREASE IN COSTS. A SPECIAL PROBLEM IF INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR AFGHAN REFUGEE EFFORT CONTINUED TO LAG. A BREAKDOWN OF ALREADY STRAINED NWFP REFUGEE RELIEF EFFORT WOULD FORCE GOP TO CONSIDER SETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES EAST OF THE INDUS, I.E. IN THE PUNJAB AND POSSIBLY IN AREAS OF SIND AS WELL. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THIS WOULD BE AN ACCEPTABLE OPTION TO THE AFGHANS; NOR ARE THE CONSEQUENCES OF LARGE INFUX OF PATHANS INTO PUNJAB CERTAIN.

14. THERE IS ALREADY SOME PUBLIC, THOUGH NOT AS YET ARTICULATED, SENTIMENT IN PAKISTAN FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT WHICH WOULD ALLOW THE REFUGEES TO GO BACK. WITHOUT

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4503

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AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KASUL

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMCONSUL LAHORE POUCH

AMCONSUL PESHAWAR POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 ISLAMABAD 05275

BONE FOR FODAS

STRONG SUPPORT FROM INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, WE BELIEVE
ARGUMENTS WITHIN GOP FOR MAKING POLITICAL ACCOMMODATION
WITH USSR AND IRA WILL MOUNT AS THE REFUGEE FIGURE IN-
COUNTRY CROSSES THE 2 MILLION MARK. AS STATED VIGOROUSLY
DURING VISIT OF CONGRESSMAN PRITCHARD, AFGHAN REFUGEE
PROBLEM NEEDS TO BE KEPT IN FOREFRONT OF INTERNATIONAL
CONSCIENCE; AS SEEN FROM HERE, THE WHITE HOT GLARE OF
UNFAVORABLE PUBLICITY MUST BE KEPT UPON MOSCOW. AS NOTED
BY INTERNATIONAL
ATTENTION ON THE AFGHANISTAN SITUATION CAN'T

- (A) HELP DETER SOVIETS FROM EXPANDING INTO
PAKISTAN AND IRAN.

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- (B) DEMONSTRATE TO THE SOVIETS THE COST OF
CONTINUING TO DENY THE AFGHAN PEOPLE THE

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- RIGHT TO MAKE THEIR OWN NATIONAL DECISIONS.
 - (C) MAINTAIN INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE PLIGHT
 - OF THE REFUGEES AND FACILITATE SECURING
 - APPROPRIATE LEVELS OF DONOR SUPPORT FOR
 - THE RELIEF EFFORT.
16. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED FOR KABUL.....KING

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